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many years, especially since 1870, against the old politics, which makes the power of a State consist in its territorial extent, is the most admirable that has ever been witnessed in our century. Men of sincere and of great talents, who could have reaped honors and riches in other fields, have borne exile, prison and destitution to keep their faith in their ideals of moral regeneration.

It is not for me, nor is it the place here, to say how much of truth there may be in these ideals cherished by German Socialists. But we are bound, for the sake of truth, conscientiously to affirm here, that what they demand concerning international relations, disarmament, arbitration and a citizen soldiery is exactly what many Peace Societies, the Lombard Union among others, have from the beginning inscribed in their programme. Let it be said, because it is the truth, that if but a portion of the stubborn energy the German Socialists exhibit in the defence of their principles, had always been displayed by the Peace Societies in their propaganda, the progress of the ideals of arbitration and international confederacy would have been by far greater in the public opinion of Europe.

And now at the conclusion of my paper, I venture to present the following propositions to the Congress :

1. Whereas in the moral order, whoever has made most progress, individual or nation, ought to help others to advance as far as he himself has gone ; and whereas in the political order the state of war will cease when a nucleus, with a federal compact, shall have been formed among the now divided nations :

The Congress proclaims that the gratitude of civilized humanity will be well merited by those nations which shall make themselves centres of the movement whose harbingers are the various congresses and conferences of an international character, whose aim is peaceful confederation.

2. The fifth Congress, deploring the fact that in some countries, in the government schools and systems of instruction the worship of war-like traditions is still preserved, a worship so contrary to the principles of morality and the interests of civilization ; and seeing the stubborn struggle which the Socialists of Germany have been and are maintaining for obtaining a noble peace by means of international disarmament and arbitration ;

While sending them sincere congratulations for their conduct, earnestly wishes that all the friends of peace, in whatever field they may be found, should work with as much energy, using all the means granted them by their local conditions, to fight against warlike passions and national hatreds, and diffusing sentiments of love and solidarity among all the nations of the world, beginning with the nearest.

It is needless for me to express my hope that every possible influence will be brought to bear to establish between this country and the United States a treaty of arbitration. England and the United States contain nearly one hundred millions of men, politically and socially the strongest and most progressive of the world. If across the wide Atlantic they can join hands of friendship and say that henceforth between them at all events war shall cease, it will be an epoch in the history of the world greater in its beneficence and hope than I care to attempt to find words to describe.—Yours, etc.,

London, January 4, 1894.

R. S.

MOTIVES AND MEANS IN PEACE WORK.

Address before the Chicago Peace Congress.

BY EX-GOV. JOHN W. HOYT, LL.D.

MY FRIENDS — I confess to some sense of hesitation, if not of trembling, this morning in view of the fact that while I was under engagement to present, on this important occasion, a paper on a theme to be forwarded to the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, I am here not only without a formal paper but also under some embarrassment at not having been able to be present at previous sessions of this Congress ; hence I find myself in doubt whether or not I am travelling over the ground already covered more ably by other speakers.

This, perhaps, matters not, if we can, after all, reinforce each other. There are few new ideas in the world. I could produce nothing startling even if I would. I am here to speak of the fraternal union of peoples, and to discuss it from the standpoint of motives and means.

The motives of peace are surely many, as they are incalculable. The motives which pertain to economy, it would seem, should have impressed themselves upon all nations.

After the war-experience of thousands of years it would seem that the economy of peace would be so strong as a conviction as to restrain mankind from war. War, as Dr. Boardman well said, is ever waste, waste, only waste, except it be a war of defence or self-preservation — all wars are a source of waste, in any event. Who can estimate the countless millions upon millions that have been wasted in munitions of war, supplies for armies, equipments, clothing, means of transportation ! Sum up the wars which have prevailed in the world ; the great wars ; only a few of them ; and your arithmetic fails you. It is impossible to have any accurate comprehension of the national resources wasted, the money wrung from the hand of toil, that it may scatter death and devastation over an empire.

For four years and more, our fellow countrymen, North and South, born under one common flag, inheritors of one glorious destiny, bathed their hands in each other's blood, and the story of the waste is half told only, when we speak of ten thousand millions of dollars. The waste of lives, who can compute that ? The life dear to you, my sister, the life which you gave to save the flag of your country, when you buckled the sword upon your best beloved and sent him forth to struggle for what you believed, and he believed, to be right ! Six hundred thousand of those lives were sacrificed in the late American war. And then the waste in sympathy, the tears, the distress of soul, the intolerable agony of those left behind, able only to pray and work to furnish yet further means to carry on fratricidal war. All wars are fratricidal as we shall see further on.

Economy is not the only element of which I would speak under the head of motives. There is a higher motive to duty. War is not only waste, but, what is worse, it is demoralization. It nurses and strengthens the baser passions of the soul, and hate grows up in place of the love which should prevail in every human heart. Duty should, after all, be the great motive, for while war is demoralization peace cultivates, develops and strengthens the finer sentiments of the soul, those elevated and noble qualities of the human heart, through whose exercise man rises from a lower to a higher and higher plane. The

great and good in all ages have recognized this. Peace and love! So it was that in India Buddha taught the great doctrine of love and brotherhood and Confucius in China likewise; and last of all, greatest of all, Jesus of Nazareth, the Prince of Peace.

The duty of brotherhood, the duty to maintain peace, which great souls of all countries and of all ages have inculcated is for the soul itself a great and holy inspiration.

Then comes the next idea, responsibility for others. "Cain, where is thy brother?" "Am I my brother's keeper?" This, the voice of God at the beginning, was a declaration of brotherhood. "Cain, where is thy brother?" Has this not sounded in the ear of all the generations? If it has not been heard, it is not because it has not been voiced by the Almighty through all the ages.

Brotherhood is the great truth which has come from above, the sublime and beautiful truth which Christ gave to the world and upon which He founded his religion, a religion which has often been perverted with followers devoted to the teaching of dogmas to the neglect of these broad truths of humanity. It is well for us to take up anew and come back to this great central truth in the interest of mankind. "Ye have heard it has been said thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy, but I say unto you love your enemies, love thy neighbor as thyself." This doctrine of love is the doctrine of this Congress; is the doctrine which is to be promulgated in all lands ere peace, harmony and prosperity can prevail.

Waste, demoralization on the one hand, conservation, growth, enjoyment and well being on the other; waste and wretchedness on the one hand, conservation, peace and plenitude on the other—and yet the nations stand hesitating to-day! But thank God there is the beginning of a better time, the dawn of a new era. We already see the day-star in the East. This gathering of itself is a sign, a blessed sign of a better understanding of man's relation to his fellow man, and this relation of man to his fellow man as an individual leads up to the fraternal relation of peoples, for peoples are but aggregations of individuals, and there is one law, one moral law, for the individual, for the community, and for the nation. That love which is enjoined upon us as individuals, which is to be cherished for our brother, is the very love which one nation is to cherish for another, and as the brotherhood of the members of one family make sweet and blessed the family circle, so will the love of nation for nation, as members of one common body, as the Doctor justly said, bind together the nations in one grand family and make everywhere a blessedness of which to-day we have no conception.

I must not delay too long. I have something to say of means and methods. They have already been enlarged upon by many speakers and they have been appreciated by all present. How are these great ends to be realized? There is a new longing among the best minds in all nations of the world for the reign of peace. The burdens, the distress, the demoralization of war have been so deeply felt that there is a looking and longing for a better condition of things and the time is here when the great and good of every land, if they would but join hands, may bring about this grand and glorious consummation.

The means are various. Indirect means will go on, but they may be very greatly improved. I was pleased

with the remark of one speaker, who, in his reference to the schools of the country, condemned the inculcation of that spirit of war still found in some text-books and which finds expression in the zeal of some false and misguided teachers. The school is the beginning, the place where children are taught their first lessons; where they get the beginnings of science and philosophy. The mind is then tender, it is impressionable. Here is the place to begin the inculcation of peace. So, instead of heroes with gaudy sword and plume, we should place upon the wall pictures of promoters of peace, of men and women who have advanced the work of science, discovery and philanthropy, so that children growing up may go out from the school-room with just ideas of what is really noble and great and worthy to be admired.

The press is the most powerful agent for the advancement of any cause; for while the Church is a power and might be a greater power, the press, especially in a country where everybody reads day by day, where journals are sent forth as the leaves of the forest, is the most potent of all influences. The press might become a power for peace if there were a peace editor on every staff—a man in whose heart was the love of peace, a man who recognized the truths that have been enunciated from this platform and that now lay hold upon the heart and conscience of mankind. If there were even one such upon the staff of every great journal whose heart was in this cause and to whom a reasonable space were allowed the cause of peace would rapidly grow and prevail.

The indirect agencies are potent, they are incalculable; but there are direct agencies and this is one of them, this Peace Congress organized here to-day; Peace Societies also of which our brother Love (well named) has been so long a leader and foremost member; peace organizations which by various agencies are able to lay before the minds of men, whenever they can be reached, the principles of peace, the evils of war, and to inculcate sentiments looking to the organization of systems formed on the brotherhood of men and nations.

The Exposition of the industries of the world we have here in Jackson Park is perhaps the grandest Peace Congress ever assembled. The gathering of the results of the productive agencies of all the civilized peoples of the world, the exchange of thought by men from many lands, are producing a sentiment of friendship deeper and stronger than has yet existed.

Who that has grasped the hand of the noble men and women from England, France, Germany, Russia, Spain, Italy, India, China, Japan and Siam, from countries far south and from the islands of the sea, who that has listened to their voices and looked into their eyes and formed some attachment for them will not be more unwilling to see war waged between this and any other land, or between any foreign land and any other foreign land? We can measure the products of industry, in some degree, and the growth of scientific discovery, but the blessing of association and intercourse leading to brotherhood, these God alone can understand and estimate.

And so day by day as I have toiled in this colossal Exposition I have felt how strong its influences are for the uplifting, for the binding together of mankind.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think you had better explain your position in the Exposition.

MR. HOYT: I would not have alluded to that, but since requested by the Chairman I will say I was drawn here from duties that held me at Washington, a place which

I have held half a lifetime, that I might contribute somewhat to the reconciliation of nations not wholly in harmony. My duties have brought me constantly into relations with the representatives of all lands making exhibits in Jackson Park. So it is, as I have stated, I have found there beating the same heart, earnest, anxious for the right, ready for conciliation and peace. I have found here in these daily labors constant encouragement to believe that universal peace is the only true status for mankind.

But these great gatherings of nations, while they are directly and indirectly productive of important results, are not alone sufficient; there must be everywhere direct agencies employed, the organization of societies, association, local and international action, if we would do away with war. If we would bring about that disarmament of which Dr. Boardman just spoke, we must go about it in an organized and systematic way and not trust to chance, for in this manner the world has drifted for the last six thousand years, and we must now guide the ship into the haven of peace. That can only be done through the instrumentality of organization of many sorts and in every land. I am very glad indeed that we have begun such organization. There should be special organizations in different countries, and then there should be a great international association established somewhere, at some point convenient of access for the world in general, so that its representatives from time to time may assemble and measures be taken to bring about this glorious result at the earliest possible moment.

Disarmament perhaps need not be expected at present. The great nations of the world will not lay down their arms until they have some guarantee that their interests will be protected; so I believe before disarmament shall come there will be established some great tribunal with the concurrence of all civilized nations to which shall be referred questions of difference for settlement in a peaceful manner; it is for this we are struggling and we have signs of its early coming. It is a blessed thing that within recent years there have been so many settlements of international difficulties without war. There have been more difficulties settled in this way than we know, perhaps. When in the midst of the late American war, there was danger of recognition by certain foreign powers, there was another power, a lover of America and unwilling that this Union should be disrupted, which showed her colors in American waters and forbade that intervention which was threatened by other powers, and who knows but that during yet more recent times, in Central and Western Europe, devastating and terrible wars have not been prevented by the belief that other great powers not involved in the controversy would interfere and so far enforce their mandate as to prevent actual war, if once declared? This would indicate that the time is near when no nation can make war upon any other nation without something like the consent of mankind. When that time is reached, there will then be a readiness of all nations to agree upon the establishment of some international tribunal for the arbitration of difficulties between nation and nation.

This recent decision of the Commission in the Behring Sea case is another good omen. Though disappointed, how readily America has acquiesced. There are Americans who believe absolutely that the decision is correct; that the waters to which reference is made in the discus-

sion of the issue are waters that should be open to the other nations of the world. Has there been a case, Mr. Chairman (my memory fails me if there has been a case), in which the decision by the Court of Arbitration has not been acquiesced in?

THE CHAIRMAN: There has not been a case.

His memory corroborates mine. Acquiescence has been the rule. When you have created a great Court of Arbitration, let it be laid down that in case of a refusal to acquiesce in a decision the ports of the nation should be closed to the one disregarding the decision of the tribunal and that commercial and diplomatic intercourse should be withdrawn and the nation made an outlaw among the nations, and there is not a nation under Heaven that would for an instant entertain the thought of taking such ground as that.

I believe, therefore, in the wisdom and practicability of this great international tribunal to which reference has been made. I believe it the duty of this Congress and of the lovers of peace everywhere, individually and by association, to strive for the early establishment of such a court, which would result in the utter desuetude of war and the establishing of peace everywhere and evermore.

A BRIEF REMARK AS TO THE EPWORTH GUARDS.

Some weeks ago I wrote something by way of protest against the project of a Boys' Brigade in the churches at Westchester, Pa. Since then there has been sent to me a printed circular, the Constitution of the Epworth Guards, in the introduction to which I find mention made of the drilling of the boys by an ex-colonel who has prepared a Manual of Arms, and in which introduction is expressed the hope that "in due time, no doubt, there will be companies completely uniformed and equipped with swords." I have naught but the best wishes for the hope and the aim of the Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal church, in endeavoring to bring the young into the service of Christ, yet I do not believe that we are called to fight sin with Satan's weapons. "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal." It seems to me that the announcement of a military auxiliary of this character would, as it were, have pierced the heart of Methodism's founder with an arrow; for Wesley was one who made bold to say of war—"Shall Christians assist the Prince of Hell, who was a murderer from the beginning, by telling the world of the benefit of war?" So also Adam Clarke, the distinguished Methodist commentator, averred that "war is as contrary to the spirit of Christianity as murder; nothing can justify nations in shedding each other's blood." I will only add to this the present day remark of the venerable Presbyterian minister, Theodore L. Cuyler, of Brooklyn, who commenting on the protest alluded to in the opening sentence of this note, remarked: "It is pitiable to see the carnal weapons of *butchery* in the hands of Christian youth! Well, let us go on *protesting* for peace and purity and righteousness, and hope for better days." The same worthy elder had already voiced in earnest language his exceeding sorrow at learning that the Boys' Brigade movement had made its appearance in some of the Baptist churches.

JOSIAH W. LEEDS.

ROCONCEY, PA., 1st Mo. 12, 1894.